Reporting in Daily Newspapers in Serbia and Republic of Srpska Immediately After Acts of Violence: A Case Study of the Mass Murder at Vladislav Ribnikar Primary School

Jovana Mlinarević

Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Banja Luka, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Article Information*

Review Article • UDC: 659.3:35.078.7(497.11+497.6)

Volume: 20, Issue: 3, pages: 212-250

Received: September 15, 2023 • Accepted: October 18, 2023

https://doi.org/10.51738/Kpolisa2023.20.3r.212m

Author Note

Jovana Mlinarević https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9931-8745

I have no known conflict of interest to disclose.

Corresponding author: Jovana Mlinarević

E-mail: jovana.bokan@fpn.unibl.org

Mlinarević, J. (2023). Reporting in Daily Newspapers in Serbia and Republic of Srpska Immediately After Acts of Violence: A Case Study of the Mass Murder at Vladislav Ribnikar Primary School. *Kultura polisa*, 20(3), 212–250, https://doi.org/10.51738/Kpolisa2023.20.3r.212m



© 2023 by the authors. This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

^{*} Cite (APA):

Abstract

On the first day after the mass murder, a qualitative content analysis was conducted on nine daily newspapers in Republic of Srpska and Serbia. It aimed to determine the existence of similarities in the reporting of daily newspapers in the two countries, compare the existing reporting with current media regulations and self-regulation, identify any violations, and provide recommendations for future, more ethical reporting, given that a number of ethical lapses were observed in the reporting. The analysis of this event has both scientific and societal justification because the event impacted all members of society, and one of the tasks of science is to provide concrete advice on how to report ethically, professionally, and in accordance with recommendations and existing norms. Ethical lapses in the media can have consequences during times of crisis, shock, disbelief, panic and concern, which were understandably triggered in the audience, given that an event of this nature had not been recorded in our societies before.

Key words: daily newspapers in Republic of Srpska and Serbia, journalistic ethics, media regulation and self-regulation, reporting in crises.

Reporting in Daily Newspapers in Serbia and Republic of Srpska Immediately After Acts of Violence: A Case Study of the Mass Murder at Vladislav Ribnikar Primary School

Journalistic Reporting in Situational Crisis and Media Responsibility

In the days following the mass murder, it was evident that neither society as a whole nor the media were prepared for violence of this magnitude. However, this does not diminish the responsibility that the media bears because "the first and foremost duty of journalists is to provide accurate, independent, and timely information upon which specific decisions and choices can be made, and appropriate conclusions drawn made when taking a certain stance" (Bataljević & Bataljević, 2012, p. 175). What occurred at Vladislav Ribnikar Elementary School escalated into a crisis because anyone who was in the killer's sights at that moment could have become a victim. This is because the event took place in a public location. "A crisis is typically fast-paced, involves many actors and requires decisions made under high stress and uncertainty. Swedish Emergency Management Agency [SEMA], 2008, p. 9). Media coverage during a crisis can lead to a phenomenon known as generalized imitation, i.e., similar events that will happen in the near future (Meindl & Ivy, 2017). We witnessed such events in the days following the first mass murder.

In the first hours following the Ribnikar School incident, there was a rush to identify "scapegoats" and unchecked causes. At one moment, a teacher who had given the suspect a failing grade was blamed; in another moment, it was the parents and eventually the peers who had allegedly bullied the suspect, and so on. Many details presented led to the public knowing everything about the event except for what was most relevant. Obtaining relevant facts would have served a protective function for the audience, who were in a state of shock. To reduce the possibility of prolonged stress, it is advisable to avoid repeated and continuous media coverage of events that cause discomfort and trauma, thus making recovery more certain (Holman et al., 2014, as cited in

Štambuk et al., 2021). For this reason, the "only acceptable reporting method in crisis reporting is the application of fact-based theory, which, while considering the pain of the victims, focuses on facts and information of public interest, rather than personal preferences and the irrational judgment of journalists" (Barović, 2011, p.125).

Due to media reporting during crisis events, which in many cases was not ethical, on 9 May 2023, the Department of Psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy formulated guidelines for reporting after crisis events. These guidelines argue that journalistic reporting should be responsible for contributing to community recovery. They should "educate the public to promptly recognize the conditions and behaviours of individuals that may escalate into violence, thus preventing such events; foster empathy for survivors and the families and friends of victims, aiding in recovery; encourage individuals to seek support from experts; encourage individuals to intervene if they notice that someone else may be at risk of committing a violent act, urging that person to seek professional help; promote solidarity and a sense of community" (Department of Psychology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, 2023, p. 2).

The National Media Regulations and Self-regulation in Serbia and Republic of Srpska Concerning Reporting on Violence

Perpetrators of violence are often referred to as "killers," "monsters," and "murderers" even before a court decision is made. Article 73 of the Law on Public Information and Media of the Republic of Serbia prohibits this practice unless the court reacts differently and issues a final decision (Law on Public Information and Media, Official Gazette of RS 83/2014, 58/2015 and 12/2016). Within the fourth part of the Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics2, which deals with the responsibility of journalists, the third sub-clause prescribes the duty of journalists to respect the presumption of innocence (Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics¹, 2013). According to the Code, even in cases of

¹The Code was adopted in 2006 and was supplemented with provisions on preventing corruption and conflicts of interest in 2013.

admission of guilt, the accused should be identified only by their initials, without accompanying photographs and descriptions, as well as without disclosing their residential address, social status, the names of close individuals, and other details as stipulated by the Code (Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). Respecting the presumption of innocence is also stipulated by Article 16 of the Press and Online Media Code in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Press and Online Media Code in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2022).

Apart from labelling, one of the significant shortcomings in the media is the direct disclosure of the identities of victims, witnesses, and even perpetrators of violence. Media professionals often defend themselves by arguing that revealing identities is in the public interest, using this argument to justify direct or indirect disclosure of identities. Indirectly revealing the identities of victims, witnesses and perpetrators often occurs through the disclosure of background information, which is considered a breach according to Article 8 of the Recommendations for court media reporters, except in a few specified cases outlined in Articles 8 and 9 (Recommendations for Court Media Reporters in Reporting on Investigations and Court Processes, 2006). This regulation provides media professionals with recommendations on what to do in cases where investigations and proceedings involve minors or when minors are victims of violence, as stipulated in Article 10 (Recommendations for Court Media Reporters in Reporting on Investigations and Court Processes, 2006). Other regulations, such as the Guidelines for Media on Dealing with the Police, also govern reporting on cases of violence involving minors. Namely, journalists are obligated to protect the identities of underaged victims and offenders until the police decide to disclose their names, as stipulated in Article 8 (OSCE, 2007). The same article specifies that information about violence victims can be revealed when "permission is obtained from the immediate family or after formal identification" (OSCE, 2007).

Nondisclosure of identity is considered a part of preserving the dignity of the victim, which is also prescribed by recommendations regarding the treatment of gender-related content in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Article 2 of these recommendations requires "the portrayal of all individuals in an equal and non-stereotypical manner, with

full respect for their uniqueness and human dignity" (Recommendations for Media on the Treatment of Gender-Related Content and the Use of Gender-Sensitive Language in the Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. 2006). Personal dignity protection is also mandated by Article 79 of the Serbian Law on Public Information and Media. Article 80 of the same law also prescribes a prohibition on disclosing additional information about a person, which reads, "Information from private life, or personal records (letters, diaries, notes, digital records, etc.), records of appearance (a photograph, cartoon, film, video, digital record, etc.), and voice records (audio, gramophone, digital records, etc.), cannot be published without the consent of the person to whom the information from private life pertains, or the person whose words, appearance or voice are contained if it can be inferred which person it is during publication" (Law on Public Information and Media, Official Gazette of RS, 83/2014, 58/2015 and 12/2016). The second paragraph of the same article states that "a minor must not be made recognizable in information that may infringe on their rights or interests." However, Article 82 of the same law emphasizes that "information from private life or personal records may exceptionally be published without the consent of the person referred to in Articles 80 and 81 of this law if, in the specific case, there is a public interest in disclosing the information." Furthermore, the fifth paragraph of Article 82 emphasizes that publication without consent is possible if it is "in the interest of justice, national security, or public safety" (Law on Public Information and Media, Official Gazette of RS, 83/2014, 58/2015 and 12/2016). The Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, in section 4, concerning the responsibility of journalists, mandates, among other things, the protection of the dignity of children and victims (sub-paragraph 5).

Within this same section 4 of the Code, journalists must protect the victims' identities and not disclose their identities. Additionally, statements from witnesses should not reveal the victim's identity (subparagraph 3, paragraphs 4 and 5, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). Journalists are required to respect privacy, dignity, and integrity. Therefore, "when reporting on accidents and criminal acts, it is not allowed to publish the names and photographs of victims and perpetrators that identify them" (section 7, sub-paragraph 1, paragraph 1, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). "Also, it is not allowed to

publish any data that could indirectly reveal the identity of either the victim or the perpetrator before the competent authority officially announces it" (section 7, sub-paragraph 1, paragraph 1, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). "The journalist must be aware of the power of the media and the possible consequences for the victim or perpetrator if their identity is revealed". "In particular, they must consider the gravity of potential consequences in case of any errors or incorrect assumptions in reporting (section 7, sub-paragraph 1, paragraph 2, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). "Even if competent state authorities release information revealing the privacy of the perpetrator or victim, the media must not convey that information" (section 7, subparagraph 1, paragraph 3, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). Furthermore, "when reporting on events involving personal pain and shock, a journalist must adapt their questions to reflect the spirit of empathy and discretion" (section 7, sub-paragraph 3, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). "Photographers and camerapersons are required to treat victims of accidents and crimes with respect and empathy when taking photographs" (section 7, sub-paragraph 3, paragraph 1, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013). The journalist must ensure that a child is not endangered or exposed to risks due to the publication of their name, photograph, or image showing their face, home, the community they live in, or recognizable surroundings (section 7, sub-paragraph 4, Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2013).

Under Article 17 of the Code of Conduct for Print and Online Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "journalists and editors shall exercise special caution towards victims and/or witnesses in reporting on investigations and legal proceedings in cases of war crimes, sexual offences, peer violence and domestic violence, and, in particular, must not reveal their identity" (Code of Conduct for Print and Online Media in BiH, 2022). Subparagraph 16 of the BH Journalists' Code of Ethics emphasizes that journalists should protect human privacy from unjustified or sensationalistic exposure in public. Furthermore, paragraph 2 of the Code underscores the need for special responsibility when "reporting on accidents, family tragedies, illnesses, children and minors, in legal proceedings, respecting the presumption of innocence, integrity, dignity

and feelings of all parties in dispute" (Code of Ethics for Bosnian and Herzegovinian Journalists, 2004).

Article 18 of the Code of Conduct for Print and Online Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina stipulates that "journalists and editors shall protect the identity of a child in proceedings where public access is otherwise excluded" (Code of Conduct for Print and Online Media in BiH, 2022). "Journalists and editors shall not directly or indirectly identify children under 18 in cases where children are victims, witnesses or accused in criminal proceedings" (Code of Conduct for Print and Online Media in BiH, 2022). Journalists shall not disclose the minors' full identity except in cases of substantial public interest (Article 15, Code of Conduct for Print and Online Media in BiH, 2022). Sub-paragraph 17 of the BH Journalists' Code of Ethics specifies that "journalists shall not interview or photograph a child (up to 15 years of age) about their life or the lives of other children without the presence of a parent or another adult responsible for the child" (BH Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2004). The same sub-paragraph in its first paragraph prohibits interviews and taking photographs in schools unless approved by school authorities (BH Journalists' Code of Ethics, 2004).

Methodology

On the first day after the massacre (4 May 2023), an analysis of the content of nine daily newspapers from Serbia and Republika Srpska was conducted. Daily newspapers were selected for the examination because their role, compared to other media, has always been to provide a broader context, details and explanations of causes and consequences. The analysis aimed to identify similarities in the reporting of daily newspapers in two countries connected primarily by cultural proximity and mutual influence in all fields. Furthermore, it aimed to detect ethical violations that could have far-reaching consequences for society as a whole and provide answers to the question of how well journalistic regulations are respected in everyday news reporting concerning tragic events. A qualitative content analysis of nine daily newspapers was conducted immediately on the first day after the massacre, as it was precisely on that day that the public closely followed the media minute by minute, seeking answers to the newly arisen questions that caused

fear, confusion, and nervousness among everyone. The daily newspapers whose content was analysed are *Nezavisne novine*, *Glas Srpske*, *Euro Blic*, *Večernje novosti*, *Informer*, *Kurir*, *Politika*, *Alo!* and *Srpski Telegraf*.

Results

In the very first hours after the event, journalists rushed to report details of the incident and the perpetrator of the crime in a sensationalist manner, often neglecting the essence and background of the crime. This horrific act has been shown to be primarily a product of dehumanization and alienation of people from each other (See more: Bjelajac, 2014), with the multiplication of contemporary threats in the context of human security (Bjelajac, 2017). Furthermore, the lack of security culture on the internet, from which the perpetrator "drew" ideas for the crime (See more: Bjelajac & Jovanović, 2013), suggests that effective strategies for the safety of young people on the internet must be established (See more: Bjelajac, Matijašević, & Dimitrijević, 2012).

When analyzing this event, we can perceive that the focus was on the perpetrator rather than the victims. In some instances of reporting, the victims were mentioned in terms of numbers, such as in the example where the victims were referred to as eight students and a security worker, seven girls, one boy and one guard (*Glas Srpske*, 4 May 2023). In the journalistic reporting of the mass murder during the analysis of daily newspapers, specific patterns were observed to be repeated, and these patterns included the following: an unprecedented massacre in recent history, a heinous act for the first time in Serbia, and the greatest tragedy in recent Serbian history (as listed in *Politika*, 4 May 2023); an unprecedented tragedy for Vračar and Belgrade, a coldblooded and meticulously planned multiple murder, a bloody rampage, a brutal crime and a heinous act happening for the first time in our history, a shocking crime (as listed in Glas Srpske, 4 May 2023). In the edition of Informer dated 4 May 2023, this event was labelled as the worst massacre in the history of Serbia, an unprecedented crime, a killing spree and massacre. In the edition of Nezavisne novine dated 4 May 2023, this event is described as a horrific crime, a bloody feast, a crime unprecedented in our region. The daily newspaper Alo dated 4 May 2023, marked this event as one of the darkest days in our history, a

horrific massacre, an unprecedented crime in Vračar, a massacre unlike any Serbia remembers, a bloody rampage, a bloody feast. The edition of *Kurir* dated 4 May 2023, described this event as a bloody feast, the worst crime in the history of Serbia, an unprecedented massacre in a school in the Serbia, a bloody drama, a massacre. *Večernje novosti* dated 4 May 2023, labelled this event as a bloody feast, an unfortunate event, an unprecedented massacre in recent history. The daily newspaper *Euro Blic*, in the edition dated 4 May 2023, characterized the event as a tragedy on Vračar, an unparalleled tragedy, something terrible that happened, a monstrous step, a bloody rampage, a bloody massacre, and as a horrific crime unprecedented in our region. Additionally, certain patterns were observed regarding the school where the violence occurred, some of which are: prestigious capital educational institution, one of the most desirable ones due to its location and because many children of public figures attend it (*Euro Blic*, 4 May 2023).

One of the most reputable schools in the capital and at the national level, a school that until yesterday was considered one of the safest (*Politika*, 3 May 2023).

What is common to all daily newspapers is that they all had at least one photograph, and most often more, from the crime scene in their reporting. In this regard, the most common images include grieving parents and acquaintances, the police, ambulance vehicles, and scenes of candlelight vigils and paying respects to the victims. Common to most daily newspapers in Serbia is at least one statement from a psychologist. Psychologists serve as relevant sources in providing expert analyses and interpretations of the event that stirred unrest among all people. Their reports significantly contributed to relieving the justified tension that arose among everyone. Some of the recurring facts in most of the analysed daily newspapers are precisely the information and details presented at the emergency press conference held by the state leadership, as well as statements from officials at that conference. Many daily newspapers reported on the measures to combat violence proposed by the president. It was repeated that the father of the boy suspected of murder took his son to a shooting range, what the boy said during his arrest was reiterated, the chronology of events was emphasized, the fact that Kosta is not criminally responsible, the previous case of violence

from the acting school, and the address by His Holiness Serbian Patriarch Porfiriie. This is justified because the public sought clarification of the situation from that aspect. So, many daily newspapers quoted the words of the suspect immediately after his arrest, but some newspapers went a step further by publishing them on the front page. Those were the striking words of the boy after his apprehension, in which he stated that he was a psychopath and that's why he committed the murders (Informer, 4 May 2023, Alo!, 4 May 202, Večernje novosti, 4 May 2023). Nezavisne novine did not sensationalize the boy's statements after his arrest. On the front page of Kurir (4 May 2023), it is mentioned that the boy shot like in video games. The statements of delegates, ambassadors, and politicians from the region regarding the tragedy and expressions of condolences are among other facts frequently reiterated in many newspapers. Some newspapers also reported statements from world leaders regarding this event. Additionally, plenty of daily newspapers also took note of the coverage of this event in international media.

During the analysis, observed was direct or indirect disclosure of the identity of the victims, the perpetrator and witnesses. We remind you that the disclosure of the identity of victims, witnesses, and in some cases also the perpetrators is considered a journalistic offence, which is explained in more detail in Recommendations for Court Media Reporters in Reporting on Investigations and Court Processes, Guidelines for Media Interaction with the Police, the Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, the Code for Printed and Online Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other regulations. We have provided more detailed information on this issue in the part about media regulations and self-regulation.

Večernje novosti (4 May 2023) revealed on the second page the names, surnames, and ages of all the deceased children and the identities of most of the injured children and the teacher. On the front page, Informer (4 May 2023) published the names and initial letters of the surnames of all known victims and their ages. In the same daily newspapers, there is a blurred sketch containing the names and surnames of the potential victims that the perpetrator planned to kill. The sketch with the names and surnames of potential victims is fully accessible on the front page of Večernje novosti (4 May 2023). The sketch representing a hit list, as stated in the photo caption, was

published in the daily newspaper Alo! (4 May 2023), in which the initial letters of the names and surnames of the children that the perpetrator planned to kill remained visible. In *Kurir* (4 May 2023), a photograph of the sketch with potential victims was published, but it was blurred. In *Nezavisne novine* (4 May 2023), the victims are identified as eight students and a security guard, while six little ones and a teacher were wounded.

To present all individuals in a "fair and non-stereotypical manner, with full respect for their uniqueness and human dignity" is mandated by the Recommendations for Media on Handling Gender Issues and the Use of Gender-Sensitive Language in the Media of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2006). In the analysed daily newspapers, there was noticeable stereotyping of parents and the murder suspect. *Informer* (4 May 2023) also mentions the boy's mother, a pathologist, who is referred to in the text as the former wife of a renowned radiologist, for whom colleagues have words of praise. That the suspect's father was a prominent radiologist was immediately mentioned on the second page of Večernje novosti (4 May 2023) in a separate and noticeable section, alongside which his unblurred photograph in a white coat was displayed. The suspect was also stereotyped as the son of a renowned radiologist. On the same page, it was mentioned that the boy's mother was a lecturer at the Faculty of Biology and that Kosta has a 10-year-old half-sister from his father's second marriage. The daily newspaper Alo! (4 May 2023), also mentioned on the front page that the boy's father was a well-known Belgrade doctor. On the second page, it was cited that his mother worked at the Faculty of Biology and that the boy came from a prestigious family. The media found a connection that the boy's father had once worked at the Institute for Cardiovascular Diseases "Dedinje" and took a statement from the director of that institution (Kurir, 4 May 2023). In Euro Blic, the arrested father was also portrayed as a well-known doctor.

According to the Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, the Law on Public Information and Media of the Republic of Serbia, and the Code for Printed and Online Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which applies to Bosnia and Herzegovina, journalists are obligated to respect the presumption of innocence and avoid labelling the suspect before the court issues its verdict. On the front page of the daily newspaper *Politika*

(4 May 2023), the suspect was characterized as a seventh-grade student, thirteen year old, identified by his first name and the initial letter of his last name. He was described as the perpetrator of mass murder, the culprit of the tragic event, an exemplary student, and a friend, "a student with no observed mental or any other emotional problems that would suggest such evil" (words of the head of the Belgrade police department). The daily newspaper Glas Srpske (4 May 2023) identified the suspect as a seventh-grade student, thirteen year old, a juvenile killer with his full name and surname. He was also characterized as an excellent student representing the school at competitions. In Večernje novosti (4 May 2023), the suspect was characterized on the basis of the words of the official as the best student who was avoided by everyone. In the same daily newspaper, the suspect was identified by his first name, the initial letter of his last name, and his age as a seventh-grader, the perpetrator of the massacre. Among other things, he is described as someone who "trained basketball, karate, went to acting classes" according to the president, and was interested in robotics and wanted to be an astrophysicist (Srpski Telegraf, 4 May 2023). In Informer (4 May 2023), the suspect is described as a deranged boy, a seventh-grade student, a mentally disturbed boy, the best student everyone avoided, and a juvenile murderer. In Nezavisne novine (4 May 2023), professional ethics were upheld, and the journalist did not reveal the suspect's identity, referring to him as a school student and a thirteen-year-old. The daily newspaper Alo! (4 May 2023) identified the suspect by initials and age and as a seventh-grade student. In these newspapers, the suspect is described as a calm, reserved, and polite boy, an excellent student who practised karate and attended a music school, according to acquaintances. On the front page of Kurir (4 May 2023), the suspect is described as a 13-year-old boy and a suspected minor, thus respecting the presumption of innocence. However, on another page, he is labelled a murderer (an example from the caption under one of the accompanying photos: "moment of surrender of the murderer"). Then, the presumption of innocence is respected again, and on another occasion, the suspect is referred to as the arrested boy. In these daily newspapers, the suspect is also identified as a seventh-grade student and a minor, a prodigy, an excellent and talented student, and a successful athlete. In *Euro Blic* (4 May 2023), the suspect was portrayed as calm and an excellent student, described as a 13-year-old teenager by his full name and last name, both as a killer and as a seventh-grade student, with outstanding grades and results in various competitions, and was also labelled as a killer and a deranged teenager.

Some of the accompanying photos from the second to the tenth page of the daily newspaper Srpski telegraf (4 May 2023) are a closeup of the suspect's face with blurred eyes, a symbolic photo of a pistol and blood, photos of people from the event in tears, the moment of arrest, a picture of the suspect's father, a screenshot from the GTA video game, the latest photo of the suspect from Facebook, pictures of the Chief of the Belgrade Police, the Minister of Internal Affairs, a photo of a former volleyball player, a picture of the deceased security guard, a photo of a geography teacher at school who is noted for "carrying bloody children in his arms," a photo of the killer's lawyer, a photo of the President of Serbia, a photo of Patriarch Porfirije, the Minister of Health wiping away tears with a handkerchief at a press conference, a photo of the Minister of Trade, a picture from the press conference regarding the event, and photos of politicians from the region expressing condolences. The entire series of reporting in *Srpski telegraf* (4 May 2023) in the "topic of the day" section is marked as "Serbia in Mourning Clothes". Photos from the scene are featured in *Informer* and on pages eight and nine, with one of them focusing on a weeping woman. In Nezavisne novine (4 May 2023), two photos were published. The first shows upset parents, and the second is an authentic photo with police and ambulance cars. There's also a photo capturing the moment of the boy's arrest, a photo excerpt from a press conference, a photo of the boy with a blurred face, and a photo depicting the murder plan. These photos were published without captions. The latest photo of the boy on Facebook was also featured in the daily newspaper Kurir (4 May 2023). However, it's not mentioned here what it means, only that he wanted to become an astrophysicist, with a note that he loved playing the game "Counter-Strike," as stated by a source from *Kurir*. Photos of the wounded history teacher and the boy suspected of multiple murders are blurred in the daily newspaper Kurir. In Euro Blic (4 May 2023), on pages eight and nine, there are seven authentic photos from the scene featuring frightened and tearful parents and children. It's positive that the children's eyes are blurred. *Euro Blic* praises the history teacher, but the accompanying photo is inappropriate for this situation, as it's a selfie of her from a trip.

The daily newspaper *Politika*, in its edition of 4 May 2023, dedicated seven pages to this event, which is ethically desirable because the journalists attempted to provide the broader context to the public and answer questions such as "How did the gun end up in the hands of a minor?" as one of the headlines reads, and "How to understand the crime committed by a child?", in which a school psychologist and the president of the Executive Board of the Serbian Psychologists' Society is interviewed. The reporting in this issue concludes by reminding readers of school shootings as a common phenomenon in the United States and recalling a similar crime that occurred on 11 May 2021 in Russia when a former student killed seven students and two teachers and injured 32 people. It is ethically commendable that in the daily newspaper *Politika*, in the statement from the psychologist (on page eight), the issues that are the subject of this report are addressed. The psychologist stated: "It is important to emphasize that the way the media reports can influence what will happen later with the victims of this crime, as well as with society as a whole. The advice is to report with as little sensationalism and speculation as possible and without value judgements about the act itself." Informer (4 May 2023) dedicated 12 pages to this event, including the front page, which is also focused on this event. Quantitatively, daily newspapers in Serbia have allocated more pages to this crime than daily newspapers in the Republic of Srpska. This is understandable because the daily newspapers in the Republic of Srpska have reported on this violence based on cultural proximity factors since the event did not occur in the Republic of Srpska. In addition to its front page, the daily newspaper Euro Blic (4 May 2023) covers this crime on seven more pages. The first two pages focus on events in Republic of Srpska, and below them, there is a cartoon related to this event, which, as a genre, was not noticed in other daily newspapers during the research. The cartoon relates to the days of mourning in Serbia.

Besides the ethically sound aspects observed in the reporting on the day after the violence, there was also a presence of sensationalism

in the newspapers. The sensationalistic approach is present in the daily newspaper Politika (4 May 2023) in a headline that reads, "Disbelief, Anxiety and Wailing," describing a situation from the crime scene as follows: "And then, a cry is heard. A woman screams and tries to pass through the police cordon. Her child is in school. There's no news; they haven't heard from the child. The phone is ringing, but no one is answering." The source is then mentioned as "someone says," accompanied by a stereotypical portrayal of the deceased security guard: "Everyone loved him. He had time for every student. He was beloved, like a parent to the school children." The police statement about the victims is described as "horrifying," and the emotions of a student's grandmother, who was on duty that day, are conveyed with the sentence, "You wouldn't wish such pain on even an enemy." Additionally, the grandmother of the student is also mentioned as a former teacher at the school, an older woman who, due to shock, wore two different socks. An unethical headline was also observed in Glas Srpske. It reads "Serbia in Mourning Clothes (4 May 2023). Unethical accompanying photos alongside the text were noted in the following daily newspapers: Glas Srpske (4 May 2023), two weeping women are pictured with the caption, "Terrible Consequences of Tragedy."

Politika (4 May 2023), there is an image of a weeping man with the caption, "Yesterday at the Entrance to Emergency Service of Serbian Clinical Centre."

Politika (4 May 2023), there's a photo of three weeping women embracing each other with the caption, "Weeping Relatives of Students in Front of the School Where the Mass Murder Occurred." Kurir (4 May 2023), a subheadline "Grandmother Faints After Terrible News," with a note that the grandmother fell down the stairs due to shock. In the same daily newspaper on the same day, there's another subheadline: "Mother Cries My Son Has Died," and the text reads "No one remained immune to the wailing and cries, while one of the parents started shouting, 'They're dead, they're dead!" In the daily newspaper Informer (4 May 2023), there are ten photos from the scene showing grieving family members (on pages four and five of the newspaper). There is a photo of the boy from Facebook presented as a photomontage. The reporter writes: "It could be inferred from the photo that the boy was consumed

by some evil... just at first glance, this profile picture from the social network indicates that the boy has serious psychological problems."

The scene in front of the school is described as eerie and distressing, similar to a state of war. There's a detailed description of the grandmother's reaction upon learning that she lost her granddaughter, the cries of parents, speculations about the motives behind the violence (despite these being still mere speculations), the boy's facial expression, the type of weapon used to commit the crime and the number of bullets it can hold. All these unnecessary details, promised in the headline, represent sensationalism in reporting on the violence. Sensationalistic constructions such as "the murderer poured a rain of bullets) are also present in Nezavisne novine (4 May 2023). In the daily newspaper Alo!, some details have been revealed, such as the fact that the murdered girl was the daughter of a well-known Red Star coach, his was also revealed in Večernje novosti (4 May 2023), where it is mentioned that the murdered girl was the daughter of the well-known volleyball coach Dragan Kobiljski. Former volleyball player Željko Tanasković gave a statement about the family's condition. Alongside the text, there is a picture of the grieving Dragan Kobiljski's wife, Nina Kobiljski, receiving the news of the tragedy. In addition to the fact that the child of a coach was among the victims, other details related to the violence in the daily newspaper Alo! (4 May 2023) include: Two girls managed to escape while the boy was reloading. The security guard was shot from a 14metre distance. The boy was a passionate fan of the game "Fortnite" (sourced from "some claim," though unverified sources should not be referred to in reporting on such a tragedy). Dreams of the slain children about their future careers, such as "Ema dreamed of being a musician and a mother of three." A priest visited Tiršova Hospital and stayed there for half an hour. The mother of one of the deceased girls was "literally carried out of the hospital... the woman could barely stand on her feet, she was as pale as a ghost, and security and police were holding her up so she wouldn't fall." A child who witnessed the massacre couldn't stop screaming and grabbing their hair (based on one mother's statement). The son of the Minister of Trade attends the school and was in the same shift when the violence occurred. Kurir (4 May 2023) reported that the minister's child attends that school, and everyone is shocked. The front page of *Alo!* is entirely sensational, from the headline 'Serbia in Tears' to the revelation of the security guard's identity right on the front page, along with details about the weaponry and the boy's parents.

'Mother, don't wait for me any longer' is the headline of the article in Večernie novosti (4 May 2023), with the subheading 'When she heard Emma was a victim, the grandmother fainted'; 'No, I won't admit it! I can't accept it! Nooo! It's not true! Tell me it's not true. Tell me, please - a mother cried out when she received the worst news. Let me get into the school, open up, let me in, let me in!!! Open up!" ... she clutches her head with her hands and screams... 'barely any photojournalist raised their camera." How? "It seems that even the camera lens would shatter before such despair ... 'The mother grabs her head and lets out a wail; it's a terrible image, like an embrace that will be in vain to yearn for." A sensationalistic headline is also present in *Nezavisne novine* (4 May 2023), which reads, "Bloody Rampage in School, Student Massacres Classmates and Guard," with accompanying text on the front page, "Serbia and the Region Shrouded in Grief After Horrific Crime at Vladislav Ribnikar Primary School in Belgrade." Unnecessary details such as "the attacker's gaze was frozen," as stated by "the mother of one of the students who escaped unharmed," as reported in Kurir (4 May 2023), are superfluous. In Euro Blic (4 May 2023), sensational reporting is evident, demonstrated by sensationalistic elements such as the word 'massacre' marked in large red letters across an entire page, the increasing number of casualties, which is referred to in the text as the realization of the darkest fears. These sensational elements are accompanied by statements from Emergency Medical Service doctors who said they cried and trembled. In Euro Blic (4 May 2023), inappropriate language is prevalent. Phrases such as "police cars and emergency teams with sirens and flashing lights were darting in all directions," "dozens of ambulances and police cars quickly gathered in front of Vladislav Ribnikar Primary School," and "tearful moms, dads, grandmas, and grandpas were trying to reach their children" are used. Sensationalistic headlines present in *Euro Blic* include statements such as: "Numerous children of celebrities were in school at the time," "My fear intensified only when my child returned home," 2I was lying beside my deceased friend's body, pretending to be dead," "I witnessed the security guard collapsing to the ground," and "It was a fellow student who shot my granddaughter."

In the early days of reporting, sources in news articles are often other media outlets. For example, the text from Glas Srpske (4 May 2023) mentions that "according to certain media reports, the assailant targeted history teacher because she had previously given him a failing grade." In news articles, the same sources often appear in multiple places. For example, the Serbian Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Zoran Pašalić, is mentioned as a source in Euro Blic and Politika. The headlines in both newspapers are almost identical ("Final warning to society" in Glas Srpske and "Ultimate warning to our society" in Politika). Furthermore, both Glas Srpske and Politika feature the same selected statements from the emergency press conference, with a particular emphasis on 'the cancerous, destructive influence of the internet, video games and so-called Western values,' as stated by Branko Ružić, the Minister of Education, who resigned a few days after the tragedy." In daily newspapers on that day, the appearance of the same interviewees is noticeable (such as the student Evgenija and the mother of the boy who played dead during the shooting, featured in *Informer*, Euro Blic and Večernje novosti). Informer, in addition to official sources, included numerous public figures and their comments on the violence, ranging from writer Dušan Nedeljković, whose child attends the same school, to showbiz personalities who are in no way connected to the case and are not relevant or qualified to provide comments on the topic. Some of the personalities whose comments are featured include Dušica Jakovljević, Nataša Aksentijević, Marija Mikić, Ana Sević, Anastasija Ražnatović, Jelena Karleuša, Slađa Alegro, Sloba Radanović, Nikolina Pišek, Jovana Jeremić and Ana Stanić, who appears as a source in Euro Blic as well. "The reactions of Lepa Brena, Sloba Radanović, Dušica Jakovljević, Neda Ukraden, Nikolina Pišek, Nikola Rokvić, Goca Tržan and Ana Sević also appear in *Kurir*. The eighth and ninth pages of *Informer* (4 May 2023) are dedicated to expert sources who commented on the event. Among them are two sociologists, two lawyers, a representative from the Forum of Primary and Secondary Vocational Schools, a criminologist, two psychologists, a psychiatrist and the director of a psychiatric clinic. Positive trend in the reporting of that daily newspaper

is that it mentions the phone number for psychological help. In Nezavisne novine (4 May 2023), the same sources appear; for example, the mother of the boy who survived by pretending to be dead, writer Dušan Nedeljković, and the statement by Veselin Milić that the sketch looks like from video games. These statements are also repeated in other media outlets, which is expected since they are from the press conference. The same sources from *Nezavisne novine* appeared in *Alo!* on 4 May 2023. Details about the weapons were also presented in Nezavisne novine and are integral to Minister Gašić's statement. In Alo! (4 May 2023), as in other media outlets, the girl Evgenija is mentioned as a source. Dušan Nedeliković is mentioned as a source in Kurir and Večernje novosti. He stated that this boy was bullied, and his child attends this school. On the sixth and seventh pages of Večernje novosti (4 May 2023), two psychologists, a medical doctor, and a sociology professor are featured, which is ethically appropriate. In *Euro Blic* (4 May 2023), among the public figures whose children attend this school, Zoran Kesić, Ana Stanić, Mirko Janketić and Duško Savanović are mentioned. Evgenija, a student who was on the scene, was interviewed. The student from the "classroom of horror," as journalists called it in *Euro Blic*, was also interviewed, and his mother relayed his words, stating that he told her that Kosta killed them all. In Euro Blic (4 May 2023), sources include neighbours and one of the workers near the building where the boy's family lives. One said, "The boy has always been polite and well-behaved but has always been withdrawn." The same person mentioned that his father was a well-known doctor. Therefore, the statement from the sources includes stereotyping. In Euro Blic (4 May 2023), journalists took statements from parents who are reported to have spoken through tears. The same statements from neighbours about the boy being withdrawn and shy are represented. Neighbours' reactions are also recorded in Kurir, which includes a statement from Dejan Ristić, whose child attends the same school (4 May 2023).

Conclusion

Research has established that newspapers in Serbia and Republika Srpska report in a similar way. Positive trends were also observed, but also a number of ethical failures in reporting in both

countries. When a violent or tragic event occurs, especially of such magnitude, it is inevitable that the media audience wants to acquire additional information to draw conclusions and, above all, to get answers as to why something happened. The audience seeks further information to avoid further and more profound consequences. In this regard, the media and journalists must work in the public interest and deliver information in line with all the values and principles of journalism. However, more often than not, the situation arises where the media and journalists cater to public interest. Catering to the public interest, the media have sensationally reported from the day the murders were committed and in the following months, emphasizing the perpetrator and his family and placing the victims in the "background." When the resources for reporting on the perpetrator were exhausted, the focus shifted to exploiting the suffering of the victims' families. In some situations, the exploitation of the perpetrator's life and the victims' suffering happened in parallel. During the first days of the tragedy, most citizens were familiar with all the information about the event, much of which was unreliable, irrelevant, or partially accurate. All the details from the media contributed to a sense of collective nervousness, fear, panic and disbelief. An analysis of the mentioned daily newspapers showed that witnesses to the accident and students and their families provided statements to the media in the early hours and at moments of massive shock. Later, their statements were shared and disseminated through a chain effect in many media outlets. The audience quickly sought new information to alleviate the feelings of insecurity, panic, and fear. However, in many cases, media reporting only boosted panic, mainly through the unnecessary repetition of details. Regarding potential causes of the violence, daily newspapers featured comments from singers, athletes, actors, and other public figures who were given media space but were not relevant sources to discuss the committed violence. In the absence of experts as relevant sources on the first day who could potentially provide explanations for the case, journalists, racing to publish information, continuously cited new causes of the violence every few hours. Some of the details of the mass murder that added extra nervousness and could have been omitted from reporting include audio recordings of the gunfire, video recordings of the arrest, distressful scenes filled with tears and the pain of families who lost their loved ones, exposing them to additional victimization, sketches with a list of students, some of whom were alive, details about the movements of the perpetrator, disclosure of the personal life of the perpetrator, and endangering the dignity of the perpetrator, victims and witnesses, as well as their families. Indeed, numerous phenomena existing in society, such as the presence of a segment of youth celebrating a violent individual as a hero on platforms like Instagram, TikTok, and other social media, must be brought into the media as a reflection of our society. However, media reporting on violence requires special treatment while adhering to the profession's codes and regulations. Additionally, what must be taken into account is the fact that our region has never witnessed such a case, and even the relevant institutions, politicians, media, and journalists were not adequately prepared because no one could have ever imagined that such things would start happening here. The events that occurred in the days following the analysed mass murder confirmed the theories of generalized imitation discussed in the first chapter of the work. This further complicated the understanding and analysis of each of these individual events. Understanding the events was also hindered by the fact that, from the very first day, the mass murder was linked to other tragic events that had previously shaken the public. For example, statements from individuals like Igor Jurić, whose daughter had tragically died, were featured in the daily newspapers. Every event requires journalists to investigate its background, but this investigation should not involve additional stereotyping, sensationalism, spectacularization, or dramatization. In the future, it would be desirable to leave the media space to experts who can analyse phenomena that society has never faced before. Journalistic reporting should adhere to laws, codes and regulations that promote a more ethical portrayal of tragedies. There should be a more decisive multi-sectoral approach to problematic issues, and efforts should be made in advance for their prevention.

References

- Amerika i svet dele tugu Srbije [America and the world share the sadness of Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 11.
- Anđelić, A. (2023, maj 4.). Ispalio 57 metaka [Fired 57 rounds]. *Srpski telegraf*, 8–9.
- Angažovani su svi resursi [All resources are engaged]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 9.
- B.S., G.S. (2023, maj 4.). Đaku-ubici neće suditi [The schoolboy killer will not be tried]. *Informer*, 8-9.
- Baki pozlilo kad je čula crne vesti [Grandma got sick when she heard the bad news]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 5.
- Barović, V. (2011). Objektivnost, novinarska etika i izvještavanje u kriznim situacijama [Objectivity, journalistic ethics and reporting in crisis situations]. *Medijske Studije*, 2, (3-4), 118–127.
- Bataljević, D., Bataljević, B. (2012). Etička pravila novinarske struke i odgovornost medija za delatnost novinara [Ethical rules of the journalistic profession and the media's responsibility for the activities of journalists]. Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Nišu, br. 61, 171–202.
- Bele ruže i sveće ispred škole [White roses and candles in front of the school]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 4.
- Belić, N. (2023, maj 4.). Deset novih mera za sprečavanje tragedija [Ten new measures to prevent tragedies]. *Politika*, 4.
- Bilo je većih masakra, ali nikada po školama [There were bigger massacres, but never in schools]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 8.
- Bio dete za primer [Was a child for example]. (2023, maj 4.). Alo!, 2.
- Bizarna fotografija na Fejsbuku [Bizarre photo on Facebook]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 4.
- Bjelajac, Ž., Matijašević, J., & Dimitrijević, D. (2012). Značaj uspostavljanja međunarodnih standarda u suzbijanju visokotehnološkog kriminala [The Significance of Establishing

- International Standards in Combating High-Tech Crime]. *Međunarodna politika*, 63(1146): 66–84.
- Bjelajac, Ž., & Jovanović, M. (2013). Pojedini aspekti bezbednosne kulture na Internetu [Some Aspects of Security Culture on the Internet]. *Kultura polisa, 10*(21), 99-114.
- Bjelajac, Ž. (2014). Alijenacija čoveka u eri naučnotehnološkog razvoja i globalizacije kao uzrok porasta i raznolikosti organizovanog kriminala [The alienation of man in the era of scientific and technological development and globalization as a cause of the increase and diversity of organized crime]. *Kultura polisa, 11*(25): 385–396.
- Bjelajac, Ž. (2017). Ljudska bezbednost sagledana kroz prizmu ljudskih prava i savremenih pretnji [Human security viewed through the prism of human rights and contemporary threats]. *Kultura polisa*, *14*(33): 139-154.
- Bojović, A. (2023, maj 4.). Trinaestogodišnjak počinio masakr [A thirteen-year-old committed a massacre]. *Politika*, 1.
- Brani ga Irina Borović [He is defended by Irina Borović]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 6.
- "Cela Hitna plače, tresemo se" ["The whole emergency room is crying, we are shaking"]. (2023, maj 4.). Euro Blic, 9.
- Ceo svet u šoku zbog pokolja u 'Ribnikaru' [The whole world is in shock because of the massacre in 'Ribnikar']. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 10–11.
- Crna Gora uz Srbiju [Montenegro next to Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 5.
- Cveće i sveće za stradale [Flowers and candles for the victims]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 5.
- Ćerka je gledala kako joj ubija drugare, ne može da se smiri [The daughter watched him kill her friends, she can't calm down]. (2023, maj 4.). Alo!, 4.

- Da se smanji starosna granica za krivičnu odgovornost na 12 godina [To lower the age limit for criminal responsibility to 12 years]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 7.
- Davidov Kesar, D. (2023, maj 4.). Sedmoro povređeno, jedan pacijent životno ugrožen [Seven injured, one patient life-threatening]. *Politika*, 6.
- Deca došla u najlepšoj garderobi! [Children came in the most beautiful wardrobe!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 5.
- Dečak (13) neće krivično odgovarati [The boy (13) will not be held criminally responsible]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 8–9.
- Dečak sam isplanirao zločin kao u video-igrici [Boy I planned the crime like in a video game]. *Kurir*, 2-3.
- Dečak- ubica ne može u zatvor [A boy-murderer cannot go to prison]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 7.
- Dečak ubica tražio premeštaj [The killer boy asked for a transfer]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 8.
- Dečko je bio prava tempirana bomba!? [The boy was a ticking time bomb!?]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 10.
- Derikonjić, M. (2023, maj 4.). Kosta K. Nije krivično odgovoran jer nema 14 godina [Kosta K. He is not criminally responsible because he is not 14 years old]. *Politika*, 7.
- Deset mera države da se zločin ne ponovi! [Ten state measures to prevent the crime from happening again!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 8.
- Dete, pa ne odgovara krivično [The child, so he is not criminally responsible]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 4.
- Devojčice pale na klupu kao da spavaju [The girls fell on the bench as if they were sleeping]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 7.
- Dobili smo jedan šamar [We got one slap]. (2023, maj 4.). *Glas Srpske*, 3.

- Dovoljno krvi za decu [Enough blood for the children]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 5.
- Dragana su svi voleli, bio je gospodin [Everyone loved Dragan, he was a gentleman]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 5.
- Duboka tuga [Deep sadness]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 6.
- Đaci zaslužuju bezbednost [Students deserve safety]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 7.
- Đorđević, K. (2023, maj 4.). Kako razumeti zločin deteta [How to understand the crime of a child]. *Politika*, 8.
- E. I. (2023, maj 4.). Pucao kao da je u video-igrici [Shot like it was in a video game]. *Informer*, 4-5. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- E.I. (2023, maj 4.). Plašimo se za svoju decu [We fear for our children]. *Informer*, 12-13.
- Efekat ekspres Ionca [The pressure cooker effect]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 7.
- Ema je sanjala da bude muzičarka i ima troje dece [Emma dreamed of being a musician and has three children]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 4.
- Evgenija preživela masakr: neprekidno je pucao! [Evgenia survived the massacre: he fired continuously].(2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 4.
- Gašić: Da li dete od 13 godina treba da ide u streljanu?! [Gašić: Should a 13-year-old child go to the shooting range?!]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 4.
- Grujičić: Užas kakav nisam videla [Grujicic: Horror like I have never seen]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 7.
- Hteo da bude astrofizičar [He wanted to be an astrophysicist]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 7.
- I.N., A. M. (2023, maj 4.). U redovima čekali da doniraju krv [They waited in lines to donate blood]. *Politika*, 8. (novinari su označeni samo inicijalima)

- Imao sestru od 10 godina [Had a 10-year-old sister]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 3.
- Ja sam psihopata zato sam ih pobio [I'm a psychopath, that's why I killed them]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 2-3.
- Jakob, M. (2023, maj 4.). Psihopate su među nama! [Psychopaths are among us!]. *Alo!*, 6-7.
- Jezivo, došao je kraj sveta [Creepy, the world has come to an end]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 12.
- Kako da postupaju roditelji čija su deca videla masakr [How should parents whose children saw the massacre act?]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 7.
- Katastrofa kakva se nije dogodila u našem narodu [A disaster that has never happened in our nation]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 9.
- Ko je njega učio da puca [Who taught him to shoot?]. (2023, maj 4.). Kurir, 8.
- Kodeks časti BH novinara [BH journalists' code of ethics]. (2004). Udruženje BH novinari.
- Kodeks novinara Srbije [Serbian journalists' code of ethics]. (2013). Udruženje novinara Srbije i Nezavisno udruženje novinara Srbije.
- Kodeks za štampane i onlajn medije u BiH [Press and online media code in bosnia and herzegovina]. (2022). Vijeće za štampu i onlajn medije u Bosni i Hercegovini. https://vzs.ba/kodeks-za-stampane-i-online-medije-bih/
- Kolege, loš ste primer [Colleagues, you are a bad example]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 12.
- Kostu otac učio da puca u streljani [Kosta's father taught him to shoot in the shooting range]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 2.
- Kulaga Simić, V. (2023, maj 4.) Srbija zavijena u crno [Serbia shrouded in black]. *Glas Srpske*, 2-3.
- Lakić, M., Bojović, A. (2023, maj 4.). Neverica, strepnja i jecaji [Disbelief, anxiety and sobs]. *Politika*, 5.

- Lažni profil: 'Ubica vere' [Fake Profile: 'Faith Killer']. (2023, maj 4.). Informer, 4.
- "Legao sam pored tela drugarice i pravio se mrtav" ["I lay down next to my friend's body and pretended to be dead"]. (2023, maj 4.). Euro Blic, 9.
- Lj.B., V.C.S. (2023, maj 4.). Istraumiranoj deci sada najpotrebniji sigurnost i zagrljaj [Troubled children now need security and a hug the most.]. *Večernje novosti*, 6–7. (novinari su označeni samo inicijalima)
- M.C, M.D. (2023, maj 4.). Ovakav zločin više nikad ne sme da se ponovi [This kind of crime must never happen again]. *Informer*, 6–7.
- M.G. (2023, maj 4.). Borelj: Veoma tužna vest [Borelj: Very sad news]. *Politika*, 8. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- M.G. (2023, maj 4.). Bratu: da se ništa slično ne ponovi [Brother: so that nothing like that happens again]. *Politika*, 8. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- M.G. (2023, maj 4.). Eskobar i Hil: SAD dele tugu Srbije [Escobar and Hill: USA shares Serbia's sadness]. *Politika*, 8. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- M.G. (2023, maj 4.). Izjave saučešća iz regiona [Condolences from the region]. *Politika*, 8. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- M.G. (2023, maj 4.). Osigurati bezbednost u školama [Ensure safety in schools]. *Politika*, 8. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- M.G. (2023, maj 4.). Žiofre: Šokiran sam [Gioffre: I'm shocked]. *Politika*, 8. (novinar je označen samo inicijalima)
- Majka plakala: moj sin je umro [The mother cried: my son died]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 5.
- Majko, ne čekaj više [Mother, don't wait any longer]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 4-5.
- Masakr u školi [School massacre]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 2–3.
- Masakr u učionici glavna vest u svetu [Massacre in the classroom is the main news in the world]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 8.

- Masakr: Tinejdžer (13) ubio osmoro đaka i čuvara [Massacre: A teenager (13) killed eight students and a guard]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 4–5.
- Masakri u školama najčešći u Americi [School massacres most common in America]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 5.
- Meindl, JN., Ivy JW. (2017). Mass shootings: the role of the media in promoting generalized imitation. *Am J Public Health*, 107(3), 368–370. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2016.303611
- Milić kroz suze: Nemi smo pred tragedijom! [Milić through tears: We are mute before the tragedy!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 4.
- Milić: Kosta nema psihičkih problema [Milić: Kosta has no mental problems]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 2.
- Mislima smo uz vas [Our thoughts are with you]. (2023, maj 4.). *Glas Srpske*, 2.
- Mislimo na srpski narod [We are thinking of the Serbian people]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 11.
- Misterija motiva: Zbog čega je vunderkind počinio krvavi pir? [The mystery of the motive: Why did the prodigy commit the bloody feast?]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 6.
- Mitrinović Rašević, B. (2023, maj 4.). Đaci bili na meti u učionicama u Rusiji [Students were targeted in classrooms in Russia]. *Politika*, 9.
- Mnoga deca poznatih su bila tada u školi [Many famous children were in school at that time]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 9.
- Moj sin ide u tu školu, u šoku sam [My son goes to that school, I'm in shock]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 13.
- Moje dete je dobro, potresen sam [My child is fine, I am shaken]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 8.
- Moje strarije dete ide u tu školu [My older child goes to that school]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 9.
- Molim se za stradalu decu [I pray for the martyred children]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 6.

- Molitva za postradale [Prayer for the victims]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 5.
- Molitve patrijarha Porfirija [Prayers of Patriarch Porphyry]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 9.
- Momirović: moje dete ide u tu školu, svi smo potreseni! [Momirović: my child goes to that school, we are all shocked!] (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 9.
- Mora da je vežbao gađanje [He must have been practicing shooting]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 9.
- Mora da postoji granica razaranja tradicionalnog [There must be a limit to the destruction of the traditional]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 3.
- Najdublje saučešće [Deepest condolences]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 4.
- Narod Crne Gore je uz vas [The people of Montenegro are with you]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 10.
- Ne postoji odgovornost maloletnika [There is no liability for minors]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 9.
- Neće krivično odgovarati [They will not be held criminally responsible]. (2023, maj 4.). Alo!, 2.
- Nema 14 godina, tako da ne može krivično da odgovara [He is not 14 years old, so he cannot be held criminally responsible]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 3.
- Nema detektora metala na ulazu [There are no metal detectors at the entrance]. (2023, maj 4.). Glas Srpske, 2.
- Nema prave utehe [There is no real consolation]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 10.
- Neprekidno je pucao, videla sam portira kako pada [He was shooting continuously, I saw the porter fall]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 3.
- Niko nije ukazao na problem [No one pointed out the problem]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 6.

- Nikolina Pišek: Poznajem roditelje neke stradale dece [Nikolina Pišek: I know the parents of some of the victims]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 13.
- O nastavnici istorije samo reči hvale [O history teacher, only words of praise]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 10.
- Objavite sliku i ime krvnika [Publish the picture and name of the executioner]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 12.
- Ocu preti 12 godina zatvora [The father faces 12 years in prison]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 8.
- Očevim oružjem ubio osmoro đaka i čuvara [He killed eight students and a guard with his father's weapon]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 2–3.
- Od jutra vanredno [Extraordinary since morning]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 4.
- Odeljenje za psihologiju Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu. (2023). Psihološke smernice za medijsko izveštavanje nakon kriznih događaja [Psychological guidelines for media reporting after crisis events]. https://www.f.bg.ac.rs/files/PS-2023-5-9-212617.pdf
- Odgovornost snose dečak i okruženje [The responsibility lies with the boy and the environment]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 6.
- Operisani su stabilno [They were operated stably]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 3.
- Organizovana stručna psihološka pomoć [Organized professional psychological help]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 5.
- OSCE. (2007). Smjernice za medije u ophođenju s policijom [Guidelines for media on dealing with the police]. https://bhnovinari.ba/bs/2007/11/10/smjernice-za-medije-u-ophodenju-s-policijom/
- Otac ga vodio u streljanu da vežba pucanje [His father took him to the shooting range to practice shooting]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 2.

- Otac mu je divan čovek [His father is a wonderful man]. (2023, maj 4.). Kurir, 8.
- Ovde je izveden 'američki scenario' [Here is the 'American scenario']. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 8.
- Ovo je najstrašnije iskustvo u karijeri [This is the scariest experience of my career]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 9.
- Ovo je poraz svih nas [This is a defeat for all of us]. (2023, maj 4.). Glas Srpske, 3.
- Ovo se u Beogradu nikad nije desilo [This has never happened in Belgrade]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 8.
- Palili sveće za žrtve [They lit candles for the victims]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 4.
- Pašalić: Krajnje upozorenje našem društvu [Pašalić: A final warning to our society]. (2023, maj 4.). *Politika*, 8.
- Patrijarh: Molim za osudu promocije nasilja u javnosti [Patriarch: I am asking for the condemnation of the promotion of violence in public]. (2023, maj 4.). *Politika*, 6.
- Po uzoru na igricu GTA [Modeled after the game GTA]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 3.
- Pobio drugare pa zvao policiju: ja sam psihopata [Killed friends and called the police: I'm a psychopath]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 2-3.
- Policija blokirala ulice [The police blocked the streets]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 6.
- Poslednje upozorenje društvu [A final warning to society]. (2023, maj 4.). *Glas Srpske,* 3.
- Poznavao sam čuvara [I knew the guard]. (2023, maj 4.). Kurir, 8.
- Preporuke za medije o tretiranju rodnih sadržaja i upotrebi rodno osjetljivog jezika u medijima Bosne i Hercegovini [Recommendations for media on the treatment of gender-related content and the use of gender-sensitive language in the media in bosnia and herzegovina]. (2006). Vijeće za štampu u Bosni i

- Hercegovini, Udruženje/Udruga BH novinari, Društvo novinara BiH, Udruga hrvatskih novinara u BiH, Udruženje novinara RS u saradnji s Udruženjem Q, Gender centrima Vlada RS i FBiH, te Agencijom za ravnopravnost polova BiH.
- Preporuke za medijske izvještače sa sudova u izvještavanju o istragama i sudskim procesima [Recommendations for court media reporters in reporting on investigations and court processes]. (2006). Vijeće za štampu u Bosni i Hercegovini, Udruženje/Udruga "BH Novinari", Društvo novinara BiH, Udruga hrvatskih novinara u BiH, Udruženje novinara Republike Srpske u saradnji sa Asocijacijom izvještača sa sudova u BiH.
- Pribojavali smo se ovakve nesreće [We were afraid of such an accident]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 8.
- Pričajte sa decom! Pričajte! [Talk to the kids! Talk! Talk!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 6.
- Profesori-heroji spasavali decu [Professors-heroes saved children]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 6-7.
- Proverite da li je ubica trpeo nasilje [Check if the killer suffered violence]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 13.
- Psiholog: Ovo se dešava često u SAD, ne u Srbiji [Psychologist: This happens often in the USA, not in Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 9.
- Pucanj pravo u glavu [A straight shot to the head]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 5.
- Pucao iz 'češke zbojevke' [Shot from the 'Czech zbojevka']. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 4.
- Pustite me da budem sa svojim anđelom! [Let me be with my angel!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 5.
- R. H. (2023, maj 4.). Ključno je pitanje kako se pištolj našao u rukama maloletnika [The key question is how the gun ended up in the hands of a minor]. *Politika*, 7. (novinar/ka je označen samo inicijalima)

- Ranjenima brz oporavak [Speedy recovery to the wounded]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 4.
- Razgovor sa psihijatrima [Conversation with psychiatrists]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 7.
- Razgovor sa psihijatrom [A conversation with a psychiatrist]. (2023, maj 4.). Euro Blic, 4.
- Redovi za doniranje krvi [Lines for donating blood]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 7.
- Regovanja poznatih na tragediju [Famous people's reactions to the tragedy]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 9.
- Roditelji besni: odakle detetu oružje!? [Parents are furious: where did the child get the weapon!?]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 5.
- Ružić: Poguban uticaj igrica i interneta [Ružić: The pernicious influence of games and the Internet]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 9.
- Ružić: poguban uticaj interneta [Ružić: the pernicious influence of the Internet]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 6.
- Sa Srbijom tuguje i RS [The RS also mourns with Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 5.
- Saosećamo sa Srbijom [We sympathize with Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). Informer, 11.
- Saučešća iz regiona i EU [Condolences from the region and the EU]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 9.
- Saučešće gradonačelnika [Condolences of the mayor]. (2023, maj 4.). Euro Blic, 5.
- Saučešće je preslaba reč [Sympathy is too weak a word]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 11.
- Simić Miladinović, M. (2023, maj 4.). Niko nema pravo da pretresa ranac učenika [No one has the right to search a student's backpack]. *Politika*, 6.
- Slabost reči [Weakness of words]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 6.

- Sladojević, D. (2023, maj 4.). Krvavi pir u školi, učenik ubio drugare i čuvara [A bloody feast at school, a student killed his friends and a guard]. *Nezavisne novine*, 2-3.
- Stevanović, J. (2023, maj 4.). Školske pucnjave česta pojava u SAD [School shootings are common in the US]. *Politika*, 9.
- Stradao čuvar kojeg su svi voleli [The guardian whom everyone loved died]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 10.
- "Strah me uhvatio tek kada mi je dete došlo kući" ["Fear gripped me only when my child came home"]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 8.
- Strašan zločin [A terrible crime]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 6.
- Suočiti se sa ovim problemom [Face this problem]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 6.
- Suze, cveće i sveće na mestu tragedije [Tears, flowers and candles at the scene of the tragedy]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 7.
- Sve ih je pobio, sve: moj sin je legao i pravio se mrtav, tako je preživeo! [He killed them all, all of them: my son lay down and pretended to be dead, that's how he survived!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 4.
- Svetski lideri i zvaničnici uputili saučešće [World leaders and officials sent condolences]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 9.
- Svetski mediji iz minuta u minut o tragediji u Beogradu [World media minute by minute about the tragedy in Belgrade]. (2023, maj 4.). *Politika*, 8.
- Swedish Emergency Management Agency (SEMA). (2008). *Crisis communications handbook*. Summary and translation of the Swedish "Handbok i kriskommunikation". NRS Tryckeri, Huskvarna.
- Školski čuvar prvi nastradao [The school guard was the first to die]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 2.
- Šok što su žrtve deca [Shock that the victims are children]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 4.

- Šta se desi u glavi dečaka pa postane hladnokrvni ubica? [What happens in the boy's head to become a cold-blooded killer?]. (2023, maj 4.). Alo!, 7.
- Štambuk, M., Martinčević, M., Rezo Bagarić, I. (2021, February, 17).

 Zašto je važno kako medji izvještavaju u kriznim situacijama?
 [Why is it important how the media reports in crisis situations?].

 Zagrebačko psihološko durštvo.
 - https://zgpd.hr/2021/02/17/zasto-je-vazno-kako-medijiizvjestavaju-u-kriznim-situacijama/
- Tanasković: Ubijena kćerka trenera Zvezde [Tanasković: The daughter of the Zvezda coach was killed]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 4.
- Teško naći reči utehe [Hard to find words of comfort]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 4.
- Tragedija koju niko ne treba da doživi [A tragedy that no one should have to experience]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 11.
- Tragedija u Beogradu udarna tema svetskih medija [The tragedy in Belgrade is the hot topic of the world media]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 9.
- Traume neće olako nestati [Traumas will not go away easily]. (2023, maj 4.). *Glas Srpske*, 3.
- Trenirao košarku, išao u muzičku školu i školu robotike, hteo da bude astrofizičar [Coached basketball, went to music school and robotics school, wanted to be an astrophysicist]. (2023, maj 4.). Srpski telegraf, 3.
- Tri dana žalosti u Srbiji [Three days of mourning in Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). Euro Blic, 7.
- Trodevna žalost u Srbiji [Three-day mourning in Serbia]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 5.
- Tužna vest za sve [Sad news for everyone]. (2023, maj 4.). *Informer*, 10.
- U mislima sa žrtvama [In thoughts with the victims]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 6.

- U muklom bolu slušam o katastrofi [I hear about the disaster in excruciating pain]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 9.
- Ubica bio žrtva vršnjačkog nasilja [The killer was a victim of peer violence]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 2.
- Ubijena i ćerka poznatog trenera [The daughter of a famous trainer was also killed]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 2.
- Ubijeni čuvar Dragan Kostu voleo kao sina [The murdered guard Dragan Kosta loved like a son]. (2023, maj 4.). *Srpski telegraf*, 4-5.
- Učiteljica heroj za primer [Hero teacher for example]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 5.
- Udarna informacija [Shocking information]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 7.
- Uhapšen i otac dečaka! [The boy's father was also arrested!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 3.
- "Unuka mi je upucao niko drugi nego drug iz odelenja" ["My grandson was shot by none other than a classmate"]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 8.
- Upozorenje celom društvu [A warning to all society]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 7.
- Urgentni centar: dečak sa povredama vrata životno ugrožen [Emergency center: boy with neck injuries, life-threatening]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 5.
- Užasne vesti [Terrible news]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 6.
- Vest obišla planetu [The news toured the planet]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 7.
- "Videla sam kako čuvar pada na pod..." ["I saw the guard fall to the floor...".]. (2023, maj 4.). Euro Blic, 9.
- Vodio ga u streljanu [Took him to the shooting range]. (2023, maj 4.). Kurir, 3.
- Vršnjak ga udario u usta [A peer punched him in the mouth]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 2.

- Vučić: Ne pamtimo veću tugu [Vučić: We do not remember a greater sadness]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 10.
- Zajedno tugujemo [We grieve together]. (2023, maj 4.). *Večernje novosti*, 5.
- Zaključali se u Sali za fizičko [They locked themselves in the gym]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 5.
- Zakon o javnom informisanju i medijima [Law on public information and media], "SI. glasnik RS", br. 83/2014, 58/2015 i 12/2016.
- Zarić, Z. (2023, maj 4.). Moja unuka je unutra, ništa ne govore, umirem od brige...[My granddaughter is inside, they don't say anything, I'm dying of worry...]. Alo!, 4.
- Zločin kakav ne pamtimo [A crime we don't remember]. (2023, maj 4.). Večernje novosti, 4.
- Zločin pripremao mesec dana, imao i spisak žrtava! [He prepared the crime for a month, and had a list of victims!]. (2023, maj 4.). *Euro Blic*, 6.
- Znali smo kad smo videli suze [We knew it when we saw tears]. (2023, maj 4.). *Alo!*, 4.
- Žrtve: Prvo likvidirao čuvara škole kako ga on ne bi sprečio da počini pokolj [Victims: First killed the school guard so he wouldn't stop him from committing the massacre]. (2023, maj 4.). *Kurir*, 4–5.

Izvještavanje dnevnih novina u Srbiji i Republici Srpskoj neposredno nakon izvršenog nasilja: studija slučaja masovno ubistvo u OŠ "Vladislav Ribnikar"

Jovana Mlinarević Fakultet političkih nauka, Banja Luka, Republika Srpska, Bosna i Hercegovina

Sažetak

Prvog dana nakon izvršenog masovnog ubistva sprovedena je kvalitativna analiza sadržaja devet dnevnih novina u Republici Srpskoj i Srbiji. Cilj analize bio je utvrđivanje postojanja sličnosti u izvještavanju dnevnih novina u dvije države, upoređivanje postojećeg izvještavanja sa važećom medijskom regulativom i samoregulativom, utvrđivanje eventualnih prestupa i pružanje preporuka za buduće etičnije izvještavanje, s obzirom na to da se uočio niz etičkih propusta u izvještavanju. Analiza ovog događaja ima i naučnu i društvenu opravdanost jer je događaj uticao na sve članove društva, a jedan od zadataka nauke jeste da pruži konkretne savjete kako izvještavati etično, profesionalno i u skladu sa preporukama i važećim normama. Etički propusti u medijima mogu izazvati posljedice u stanju krize, šoka, nevjerice, panike i zabrinutosti koja je bila probuđena kod publike što je razumljivo s obzirom da događaj ovakvog tipa nije zabilježen u našim društvima ranije.

Ključne reči: dnevne novine u Republici Srpskoj i Srbiji, novinarska etika, medijska regulativa i samoregulativa, izvještavanje u kriznim situacijama